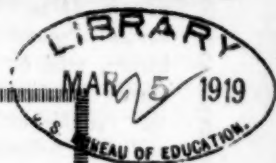


The AMERICAN TEACHER

The Organ of
the American
Federation
of Teachers

FEBRUARY, 1919



Democracy and Education

**Americanization, or Self-
Mastery**

The Legal Status of Teachers

Lifters and Leaners

**Democracy in Education
Education for Democracy**

What Kind of Educational Reconstruction?

THERE is grave danger that advocates of this or that political or economic creed will try to control the schools for propaganda purposes. It is quite likely that a whole series of conflicts, many of them very bitter, will be waged over the educational question between the liberals and the reactionaries, between those who ardently believe in democracy and the possibilities of a new social order, and those who either consciously or unconsciously want to return to the status quo ante. Nationally and locally a very determined stand ought to be made in this reconstruction period against all the various leagues and historical boards who, with whatever good intent, are trying to ram into the schools their own particular brand of "patriotism" or "Americanism." Children have a right to be protected against creed and dogma of whatever kind.

Champions of the new social order have a hard task ahead of them if the schools are to become a fit instrument for democracy. Not only have too many of our educators been blind to the great liberal forces which are stirring the world, but they have become enslaved by a system of education which by its very nature irons out initiative, stifles

thought and discourages leadership. And yet leaders we must have if democracy is to survive, leaders who are truly representative of the aspirations and the will of the people themselves. So long as the masses of the people receive only a few grades of schooling, so long as children are taught beliefs rather than truth, the "lords of the earth" may look with complacency upon any democratic movement. So long as

the common schooling is down to a level only sufficient to turn out clerks or trade apprentices, and so long as even this limited schooling discourages all independence of thought, the mass of the people will fall an easy prey to those capable of handling the mob mind. Party machinery, a cheap press, all the arts and devices of the demagogue with

his sensational appeals and the holding out of unsubstantial benefits serve to make and preserve the mob mind, fluid, short-sighted, uncritical and credulous. Under such conditions there can be no rule of the people, and no real thinking thru of vital problems.

AGNES DE LIMA, in the *Bulletin of the Public Education Association of the City of New York*, December 7, 1918.

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The American Teacher

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FEBRUARY, 1919

One Dollar a Year

New Locals of the A F of T

RECENT additions to the roster of the American Federation of Teachers are the Associated Teachers of the University of Illinois, the Altoona (Pa.) Teachers Association, the Granite City (Ill.) Federation of Teachers, the Buffalo Vocational Teachers Association, the Lancaster (Ohio) Elementary Teachers Association, and the Stockton Township (Linton, Ind.) Federation of Teachers. The last named brings the charters issued up to forty-two.

Hundreds of organizations of teachers thruout the country are in communication with the officers of the A F of T, and are seriously discussing the matter of affiliation with labor thru our national. Pride of profession is right enough in its place, but it is marvelous what a sham it appears to be in the face of economic stress. Teachers are looking for plain, honest relief, and shams are being hung on the "whatnot," along with the other curios no longer of value.

The New Day

AT a time when the whole world is seething with political and social discontent, the teaching citizens of our country can no longer maintain their negative attitude of indifference, or unintelligence. Much as their prehistoric training would cause them to pursue the paths oft-times trodden before, this will be especially difficult because not only the paths but also the highways are being broken up. We are living in a new world where the forces are gathering to break out new paths for human destiny.

There was a time when a good citizen could look upon politics and education, one as business for the ward-heelers, the other as the source of pin-money for the daughters of his neighbors. Now, over night, both politics and education are the development and storage centers for the world energies. Whether teachers like it or not, whether they are intelligent or not, they must have a care, or the immense forces that now are bound to operate thru education will sweep them off their feet. Their only safety lies in seeing that they must learn to control the new and overwhelming power that the war has brought into existence from their hum-drum occupation.

If teachers do not seek to control and guide the new forces of education in the direction of social betterment, then others, possibly harder masters than ever, will, for some other end. And teachers will be less satisfied, and also less worthy, than they have ever been.

"Unprofessional"

The primary teacher taught her pupils beautiful old stories and fables about united effort. The grammar school teacher showed how our liberties were won by patriotic union. The high school teacher proved that "union is strength" by every science in the curriculum. But did all these teachers act together for their own interests? Not always, for it wasn't professional.—Editorial in *The Common Ground* for Jan., 1919.

Upon application, a charter or a collection of charters in the American Federation of Teachers will be granted to the Massachusetts Teachers Federation, of which *The Common Ground* is the organ. Otherwise, why write such unprofessional editorials?—Editor, THE AMERICAN TEACHER.

Little Lessons in Thrift

AN extract from a pamphlet prepared by the Educational Committee of the War Savings Organization of the Seventh Federal Reserve District, and circulated thruout the Schools of Chicago.

Lesson IX. The Bolsheviki vs Poor Richard. Bolsheviki means "Those who want more." The Bolsheviki propaganda being spread among workmen and among the ne'er-do-well class of all countries teaches that all rights should be taken away from those who have been industrious and thrifty, and have accumulated some property of their own. That this property should be seized by the members of the Bolsheviki group and divided among themselves. This doctrine often finds ready acceptance among those who are not thrifty and have not managed to get ahead in the world.

Bolsheviki means **DIVIDE**. It means divide the land; it means divide the money in the banks, it means divide the products of the factory; it means kill and destroy if those who have earned and saved refuse to have their property divided.

IT is of course the fashion to believe and to say the worst of the Soviet Government of Russia and its extreme form of political philosophy called Bolshevism. In fact, unless one does say the worst, there may appear to be something suspicious or un-American about the writer or speaker who does not go the limit. Certainly, no such unworthy suspicion could be breathed against the authors of "Little Lessons in Thrift." They have gone the limit.

We do not mean by this to accuse the Educational Committee of the War Savings organization of misrepresentation. All we feel obliged to say is that everything the committee charges against Bolshevism, except the alleged murderous propensities, has been charged against every brand of communistic or socialistic philosophy for generations of time, hundreds of years.

The intelligent teachers of Chicago, of course, know all this, but possibly they did not feel free for reasons of weight in these days of slight tenure to raise an objection against an antiquated statement, and there-

fore an unreliable statement, applied to a complex modern political situation.

Let us hope the children of Chicago will be aided by the teachers in keeping track of the efforts of the Peace Conference to bring about a settlement of the troubles in Russia in a way that will be satisfactory to the Russians. Incidentally, the children may learn that political crises are met successfully by campaigns of reason and enlightenment.

—EDITOR.

Our members are reminded of the need of giving earnest consideration to the problem outlined in the editorial, "The Way to Power," in the January number. We may reasonably expect several responses in time for printing in the March number, which will go to press on March 10.

TO MEMBERS OF THE A F OF T

Every member of the American Federation of Teachers in good standing receives the American Teacher free of charge. In return for this, for the benefit of being protected and of having a fearless organization to help fight for the professional rights of the members, the Federation maintains that each member should feel it a deep obligation, as well as a privilege, to be faithful in those matters that enable the officers to carry out their duties with satisfaction and efficiency. The regular payment of dues to the locals, the regular attendance at meetings, and the generous grant of personal service, all help to make the movement "carry on."

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Democracy and Education*

CHARLES B STILLMAN,

President, The American Federation of Teachers

MY subject, Democracy and Education, sounds trite. Americans are sometimes called boastful, and there are few things we boast of more than our educational system. You have perhaps even heard it called the foundation and bulwark of democracy. While there is a sense in which our schools by making us a more or less literate nation, and offering instruction in the history and forms of our institutions, have made democracy possible, there is also a very real sense in which one of the chief proofs of the vitality of our democracy is the fact that it has survived our schools.

I need not take time to prove the importance of education to this group. This has been called a schoolmaster's war, and certainly the superpatriotism and "regimented docility" of the German people could have been developed only by the German school system, carefully designed to make unthinking obedience implicit in the 90 percent, and to train the remaining 10 percent in a quasi-leadership instinctively subordinated to higher authority. Many try by similar reasoning to find justification for our educational system in our successful conduct of the war. But unfortunately most people cannot stress strong points without developing a blind spot for weaknesses. And I take it that this conference, tho sharing a patriotic pride in our accomplishments as a nation, and eager to give our schools their full share of the credit, is anxious also to face frankly the weaknesses and failures of our institutions as an essential first step to their reconstruction.

And the bitter fact is that our educational system from the primary grades thru the university has never been within hailing distance of democracy. During the first half of

the last century, when need was felt for a model of an educational system, we sent educators to Germany of all places for that model. And while we avoided the German caste division, we adopted and have developed the Prussian type of autocratic school administration. The class room teachers, actually on the job and in daily direct contact with the educational problems, have practically no voice in the conduct of the schools, the determination of educational policies, all power and authority originating at the top, and extending downward from the upper reaches of the educational hierarchy. That this is true of universities, with some exceptions, is coming to be recognized. One university professor diagnoses the most dangerous disease afflicting our colleges and universities as "Presidentitis." And when it is not "Presidentitis," often an oligarchy of full professors rules with an iron hand, and any younger member of the faculty with lesser rank offers suggestions at the cost of advancement, or even of position. For in most institutions of collegiate rank, there is tenure only for the handful of full professors; all others are automatically discharged each year and offered, or not offered, a new contract. You, of course, realize that this same condition obtains in our public schools with few exceptions. In some universities, there are spy systems to check up on the private life; in most, academic freedom is a joke, and in almost all, it is a fragile thing to be handled with care.

A brilliant university teacher recently said he was going to take up high school work, partly because he could come a little nearer to making a living, but chiefly because he could better develop the principles of democracy in the more democratic atmosphere of the public school. And many public school teachers are keeping their optimism alive

* Address delivered at Reconstruction Conference of National Popular Government League, Washington, D. C., January 10, 1919.

with the thought that at least a small percentage of their pupils are going on to college or university, where they will find a freer mental environment.

For what are the corresponding conditions in the public schools? Let me read rules proposed some time ago by the school administration of Chicago at that time, and the protests submitted by the union teachers of Chicago. The rules were not adopted, but they typify the traditional spirit of school administration in this country, and the answers typify the spirit of the organized teachers affiliated with labor.

Sec. 81. Exclusion of Partisan and Sectarian Questions. Teachers shall not permit the introduction of questions of a sectarian or partisan character into their schools.

This, of course, is the old, traditional rule, incapable of literal enforcement, because of the difficulties of interpretation. Numerous matters of historical and scientific fact and theory, and frequently even matters social, economic and political are considered sectarian by various sects, and social, economic and political questions are considered partisan by almost all parties. One cannot commence to discuss good citizenship in a country governed by the party system without cutting cross sections thru all political parties. Our country would never have become a melting pot for all creeds and nationalities if the children had not come into contact in our public schools with a type of thinking and way of life often in violent contrast with their home environment and habitual sectarian and political atmosphere.

The schools cannot develop mental fibre if the pupils are carefully shielded from knowledge of the topics that men and women think about. The schools cannot prepare for active citizenship, if the pupils are not allowed to discuss, under intelligent supervision, the problems of citizenship. The habits of tolerance and of intellectual fairness towards opponents, cannot be formed without the discussion of topics that give opportunity

for their exercise. The failure of our schools to develop these habits has been made all too evident by numerous campaigns in which reason has been clouded by embittered intolerance.

The best of rules would require judgment in interpretation, but we believe that a wording can be found more in accordance with the spirit of our free schools, and we submit the following:

Whenever topics on which honest men differ arise in the classroom, as in the study of science, history, civics, English, it shall be the duty of the teacher to inculcate the principles of tolerance, of the open mind, of courtesy and fairness to opponents; to stimulate intellectual honesty, and the desire to see all sides of a question; to emphasize the sacredness of the right of the individual to his own honest beliefs and convictions, provided only that they do not conflict with the rights and welfare of the community and humanity.

Sec. 81-C. Maintain Professional Standards of Conduct. The behaviour of teachers toward the Board of Education and those holding positions of authority under the Board shall at all times be respectful and obedient. The standards of conduct of teachers both within and without the schoolroom shall be such as to comport with the higher ideals of the teaching profession and their habits, conduct and character shall be such that the children under their charge should imitate.

We believe that it would be unfortunate if the Board of Education adopted the proposed rule. We consider the conception and phraseology unworthy of both the teachers and the Board of Education. Respect cannot be secured by coercion; the superficial appearance of respect which might be successfully demanded by rule would be degrading to both parties. Mutual respect should be assumed; it is not an appropriate subject for legislation, at least in a democratic community.

Similarly with the emphasis on "obedience." If a teacher refuses to carry out legi-

timate instructions, the method of removal is provided. But efficiency is secured only when instructions are carried out in a spirit of cooperation rather than of "obedience" to an official superior.

In order to make the rule include all members of the educational department, and not merely the teachers, and to eliminate the features which would not call out the best efforts of the teachers, we respectfully submit the following substitute:

The Board of Education realizes that the schools can meet their full obligations to the public only thru the coöperation of the teachers, principals, supervisory staff, and Board of Education, and expects each of the four groups to aid in establishing and maintaining conditions favorable to the most effective coöperation.

And that brings me to the key to our educational reconstruction. It is the teacher. Our American fondness for machinery may have had something to do with our over-weening confidence in educational machinery and devices, and neglect of the human element. The best of equipment is none too good, but without an efficient teacher, it is so much junk. And the most perfectly organized system must fail to function without live teaching.

I know it is shocking for a member of the teaching craft to mention teaching as a key to anything—unless it be the poorhouse. You expected me to say the children. I sometimes think that the majority of the crimes against childhood have been committed in the name of the children. Whenever a reactionary Board of Education or Superintendent plans to sandbag the public schools, the operation is cut off from the view of the public by a barrage of homilies on the sacred rights of the children. It is a tragedy that such conceptions as patriotism and the rights of children have been exploited by reactionaries until liberals hesitate to mention them. But they are too valuable to be surrendered to the Tories.

The public is ready to see that the most important right of children is the right to

competent, free, unafraid teaching, and that it is a crime against childhood to expose it daily in the classroom to an atmosphere of timidity, of complacent aloofness from life, of servility. And two fundamental and revolutionary things are essential if we are to secure and maintain the kind of human material in the teaching craft which can be made the basis for democracy in our schools.

First, teaching must be made a self-respecting calling. The teacher must not only no longer be a political football, but must no longer be harassed and humiliated by petty treatment and autocratic dictation of official superiors, lay and professional. Conditions in that respect differ widely in various communities, and it is only fair to say that an increasing number of teachers are very happily working in an atmosphere of coöperation. But the intolerable traditional condition still prevails so generally that young men and women of independent spirit hesitate long before entering the profession. The obvious remedies are tenure of position based on competency, and the democratic voice of the teachers in the conduct of the schools.

Second, but not second in importance, teaching must be made a self-supporting calling. The majority of teachers either are partially dependent on what amounts to the charity of their parents or relatives, or eke out an existence by engaging in gainful occupations on the side. Pupils, working outside school hours while attending school with credit often make more than their teachers. Teachers have always been wretchedly paid, but now, when the purchasing value of a salary of \$1,000 five years ago is only \$400, their plight is desperate. Or more accurately, the nation's plight is desperate. For teachers are being forced out of the schools by the thousand by sheer economic pressure. At this moment there is a shortage of 100,000 trained teachers, and you cannot have an adequate conception of what that implies in lowering of standards and overcrowding of rooms. Even more threatening for the future is the natural refusal of young men and

women of ability to prepare to enter a profession which will not provide them a living income. The normal schools of the country are less than half full. The Wilson Normal here in Washington has an entering class of nine instead of the usual ninety. Publishing houses are already considering more elementary, "fool-proof" textbooks, better adapted for teaching by green, untrained teachers. That is the situation at the beginning of the period of reconstruction when our schools will have greater demands made upon them than ever before.

But the public cannot complain. They are getting more than they pay for. In 1916 the total expenditure on public elementary schools by Federal, state, and local governments was only a little more than half a billion dollars. The same figure for public high schools was only a little over \$100,000,000. The aggregate expenditure in the same year on all schools, public and private, was in round numbers, \$900,000,000.

Those figures must be immediately and greatly increased. The gains for democracy of our essential military victory can be consolidated only thru education. England and France realize that, and despite war burdens and a war-weariness of which we can have no conception, have planned a reorganization of their schools and made unprecedented appropriations. America, with all her traditional pride in her schools, lamentably lags behind. If America does not awake, that pride will soon be nothing more than a tradition.

It is primarily a national matter, and Congress should point the way by appropriating \$100,000,000 to be apportioned among the states, and duplicated by the states, to aid in raising teachers' salaries to a level which will make it possible for every child to receive competent instruction under favorable conditions. State legislatures should follow with greatly increased appropriations, and systems of local taxation for school purposes should be reorganized to provide more adequate revenue.

In carrying out this financial program, and

in democratizing our schools, we must make use of every available avenue of approach to public opinion. As a representative of the teachers affiliated with organized labor, it is natural and right for me to call attention to the keen and intelligent interest in our schools everywhere shown by labor, and the effective assistance rendered by labor in securing progressive educational legislation. For labor is fundamentally interested in securing the best educational advantages for the children of all the people. Certain conflicting forces are interested in keeping taxes down. Labor is determined that education shall be made to mean what it should mean in a democracy.

There is no time to go into detail, but let me list half a dozen educational planks repeatedly adopted by labor in both state and national conventions.

1. Reduction in size of classes, the Illinois State Federation of Labor asking for a maximum of 25 pupils to a class.
2. The establishment of self-governing teachers' councils for the purpose of utilizing the experience and initiative of the teaching body in the conduct of the schools, the recommendations of such councils to be made a matter of official public record.
3. The requirement that all our children shall be taught in the English language, in both private and public schools, a foreign language to be taught only as a subject in the curriculum.
4. Elective boards of education.
5. Free textbooks.
6. The introduction of a modern system of physical education.
7. The establishment of a Federal Department of Education.
8. The appropriation by Congress of \$100,000,000 to aid the states as advocated above.
9. A minimum annual salary for teachers of \$1,200.
10. The universal establishment of a minimum school-leaving age of 16 years,

and the provision of compulsory continuation schools to 18.

11. The more vigorous teaching of the obligations and privileges of citizenship.

Many formerly hostile to the American Federation of Teachers are now admitting that affiliation of the teachers with labor will be necessary if the teachers, standing alone, without outside affiliations, fail to remedy conditions. We contend that they miss the main point. Our schools have been failing to achieve full success largely because the teachers have been standing alone, holding themselves aloof from life. One logical reason for the spectacle of misgoverned American cities is the inevitable failure of teachers who are themselves ignorant of life, to prepare their pupils to play an intelligent part in life. We try to impress on teachers the necessity, for the sake of our democracy, of connecting themselves intimately and effectively with the economic, social and civic life of the community.

In conclusion let me repeat that we cannot attain genuine democracy in education until we make teaching self-respecting, self-supporting, and an organic part of our national and community life.

Librarians Also Belong to a Profession

The problem of salaries, alike for librarians and teachers, has been made very difficult because of the war. There is often discussion as to relative salaries and relative advantages in librarianship and in teaching, but the present problem is common to both fields and urgent in both. It is the man or woman of moderate salary who feels the pinch of war prices. Profits may have gone up, wages have increased, but moderate salaries never keep step with the increased cost of living. A twenty-per-cent raise would be but little, yet school and library authorities who must look to the public funds, face when they desire to raise salaries the trend of state and municipal authorities to decrease instead of increase budgets, to rob Peter without paying Paul. The Federal government has wisely sought to tax excess profits and large incomes and to avoid the increase of prices which comes thru taxing sales or wages—with possibly the exception of sales on luxuries above a standard price. Wise as this is, it does not go to the root of the matter, nor can any combination of employees or

strikes or other forms of protest solve the enigma, which is a puzzle only less distressing to those who have to pay than to those who receive the small and inadequate salaries.

Under these circumstances, co-operation of the staff in bringing the facts to public attention may well be welcomed by trustees and library executives. Library assistants, who are so vitally interested, should have direct voice in shaping public opinion in the right direction and in bringing municipal appropriation authorities face to face with the actual facts. This does not involve the question of unionization or the intervention of the walking delegate as a rival executive in the library. A trade union within a library system makes the calling of the librarian a trade rather than a profession, and involves also the serious danger of attempting the administration of the library thru the influence of other unions not cognate with library work. With the growth of the large library systems, administration has become wholesomely democratic, as staff meetings have afforded opportunity for helpful cooperation and for enlightened discussion of library plans, methods and aims. Moreover, there has been no field of work in which the physical and social well-being of all concerned has been more fully kept in mind, and unionization would be likely to work much more harm than it could afford help.—*Editorial Library Journal* (New York) for January, 1919.

This is *too much*. When teachers refuse to join a union because they are members of a "profession," we can sympathize and understand, but when librarians claim the same exclusion, we must protest. We did not dream that librarians who work for still less than teachers do would try to break into our circle. Well, go on. Only keep it from the hod-carriers!

Occupational Pride and Good Pay

When teachers assume an attitude of occupational pride and begin to demand adequate pay for a service ending in great public benefit without regard to the political coloring, they will find a supporting public sentiment greeting them. When teachers are able and willing to stand before the public and claim good pay for good work with every other consideration eliminated, they will find the public's hand stretched out in fellowship. They seem on the point of adopting that posture now, and to insure success need only maintain the seeming advance.

On the other side, the public must be convinced that if public school teachers are to be expected to retain their interest in the success of the popular system the interest must be met fairly and warmly by those for whom the teachers give their labor. The public is coming to understand better every year that nothing concerns them more vitally than the results achieved in the public schools. The recognition has been tardy, but seems to have arrived.

Teachers need only establish the good quality of their workmanship to find the public ready with consent for proper reward.—From editorial in *Union Leader*, Toledo, Ohio.

"Americanization", or Self-Mastery

CORNELIA W CLEVELAND

The Workers University, New York City

WE have heard much in the past year about programs of Americanization. Every philanthropic agency that really considers itself in the social-service swim, is racking its brains for something new in the line of adding "education" unto the ignorant foreigner.

And because it is not social-service etiquette to do anything simply, elaborate machinery is set up and more elaborate propaganda set in motion to start the machinery with currents of golden power. The most potent arguments are needed to touch into vibration the philanthropic chords in the hearts of moneyed men. What is the argument most potent to quicken the charitable pulse? Fear. Fear of "ignorant foreigners" who speak a foreign tongue and think foreign thoughts. Fear that all the sensible, comfortable everyday things which spell America to the third and fourth generation of successful Americans, are being menaced by a strange, hovering, unpleasant shadow of hunger and restlessness and disinherited human aspiration. This shadow is called Unamerican because so many of the humans who make up the shadow are arrivals here today or only yesterday.

Such is the appeal of the Americanizer to the man who is to furnish the means. What is the remedy offered for this unpleasant menace? Well, first, we must teach English to these uncomprehending and incomprehensible foreigners. And then they can understand us when we tell them what America really is—outside the slum and factory; and then they will understand what American prosperity means—to others. If the foreigner won't learn, and one fair worker in the cause of Americanization declares that the stubborn girls and men in the factories just *won't*—why, then, the same enthusiastic organizer announced triumphantly, a law will be passed making it illegal to speak or read any language but English! So there now!

But all this complicated machinery of Americanization seems thus far to be whirling and spinning in a vacuum of its own. The "foreigners" are strangely unmoved as yet. Unmoved as serious-minded humans always are when they see the Pharisee startled out of complacency into frantic "Welfare Work." And they go on their own daily grind, uninterested in plans by which "the employer gives half an hour of *his* valuable time for English classes in the factory and the *employee* gives half an hour" and pays for the *whole* hour to boot.

The reason for this apathy which the Americanizer deplores as willfulness and "Bolshevism" is not far to seek. Why is it that expensive pool-rooms and gymnasiums and moving pictures built by employers on their own premises are frequented by two or three workers, while small amusement halls and billiard "parlors," cheap only in facilities for enjoyment, are crowded to the doors? For the same reason that a child indignantly rejects the expensive toy given as a bribe, or entailing future obligations, and prefers the packing-box chariot on castors which he himself has made.

Our welfare workers and Americanizers are poor psychologists when they denounce the worker as ingrate because Americanization classes are poorly attended. They might, if they were willing to look that far, learn lesson number one in humility if they should but spend a short time in the classes of the *Workers University*.

The *Workers University*? Why, what is that? Well, first, it is the self-respecting workers' answer to the Pharisee. But far more than that it is the practical expression of the human instinct to create, to create something in response to actual need. For in spite of all the petulant despair which the Americanizer vindictively voiced, the worker in this country of ours, today as in the past, recognizes the value and power of knowledge

and longs for education and the leisure to gain it just as keenly as did the first immigrants to this country. More than that he or she is just as willing to *work* for that education as were the forebears of the élite American.

The worker has long since found, however, that the conditions of his work are such that leisure and energy for education as it is given in the "public" schools are impossible. Hence he determines that education shall come to him, that he will fit the opportunities for learning to the conditions of his life and work.

Thru the long history of trade union development the worker has learned that strength comes thru unionization, hence the most natural organ thru which he works for new advantages and opportunities is his union. What more natural then, than that the union should initiate this tremendous movement for self-education of the worker? The movement, while new in this country, is by no means without a history of interesting experiment and achievement in England and other countries where the labor movement is mature.

In the United States the first experiment of this kind, and it has now passed the stage of experiment, was begun three years ago by Local 25 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union in New York City. In 1918 the work was taken over and amplified by the International itself.

The Educational Committee, of which Mr Harry Wander is chairman and Miss Fannie M Cohn the secretary, appointed by the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, employs an organizer, Mr Sebastian Liberty, in New York City, and associate organizers in other cities. This report deals with the work of the parent organization in New York, and applies equally to the organization in other cities.

The actual educational work is carried on thru rapidly growing Unity Centers, thru centrally located lecture centers, thru classes for business agents of the Union, and thru meeting halls of the locals.

The oldest established work is that carried on in the Unity Centers. At present there are four of these centers making use of conveniently located public school buildings, one in the Bronx, one in the Brownsville district of Brooklyn, and two in Manhattan. This is of course evening work.

The Unity Center is much more than a "school," altho the classes in English taught by Board of Education teachers, often form the nucleus of the new center. The center is more than a school for instruction or for gaining Regents' points. It is a little community, a social group, a group drawn together by the unifying spirit of a common work and a common desire for knowledge. There are lectures on health and sex-hygiene, classes in gymnasium practise and classes in swimming. The student joining one of these health groups is doing so not for diplomas or Regents' counts. He is joining to gain a new mastery of the conditions of his own life and physical well-being.

In answer to the charge made by some that the "ignorant" worker does not know how to use his leisure time—what little he has!—the Unity Center would be a revelation. The young men and women have in this center their own social club which cannot be outdone in social or intellectual value by any society in the country. Once a week there is a meeting of the reading circle and dancing class. The enthusiasts in this circle are not Hermiones dallying with the Cosmos, "taking up Plato seriously" or passing into trances at the bidding of entrancing humbugs. These students of life are reading diligently, deeply, widely. The books they read, some in English, some in Jewish, Italian or Russian, are human and vital, touching upon subjects of immediate interest to the worker. They study the history of the great labor movement, the development of democracies, the growth of conscious manhood and womanhood; they read the romance of humanity. In short, they are laying a broad human foundation for a working class consciousness in the highest and noblest sense of the term.

And then they dance or sing or listen to good music and talk just as any human people do, only they do it more spontaneously and charmingly than do our "society" folk. These students of life are not studying social *étiquette* and formalities in their dancing class. They are simply developing social contacts and graces which their hard condition of life and work would otherwise make difficult or impossible to get in natural, simple surroundings.

And so thru all the activities of the Unity Centre: the dramatic circle, chorus, lectures on economics and sociology, concerts, field trips to museums, to woods or shore, pleasurable work and inspiring pleasure, these young men and women are studying and developing self-mastery and beauty in an earnest and self-respecting manner which cries shame on the professional philanthropist, or the petulant domineering Americanizer who would thrust an extinguisher upon all this enthusiasm by charity.

This work is no charity. With the exception of the English teachers who are paid by the City in cooperation with the Union, all the teachers are Union chosen and Union paid teachers and lecturers. Even the English classes are under the direction of the Union which is in this way helping to make the public schools of more direct service to the people who need them. In cooperation with the Board of Education the Union stimulates and maintains regular attendance in these classes as a part of Unity life. Hence thru their own Union, of which they are dues-paying members, the workers are procuring for themselves the education they crave. The only limit to the growth of these centers is the limit of membership in the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union. Whenever the workers wish a new course introduced or a particular lecturer or educational activity arranged, for they are at liberty to communicate with the central office thru their student council or individually. If a sufficiently large number wish the new course to warrant the maintenance of a class the organizer procures the lecturer and makes all

the arrangements. In this way the Educational Committee is at the service of the workers themselves.

The educational work of the Unity Centers is only a part, tho a vital part of the program of the Workers University. During the past year there has developed a very interesting and varied series of lectures in a centrally located high school building, the Washington Irving High School. The large attendance at these lectures and the constant call for new lectures of a serious nature throws a little light on the quality of intellectual seriousness of our "ignorant" workers. Some of the subjects which are being studied at present are:

The Cooperative Movement—Dr James P Warbasse;

Social Interpretation of Literature—Dr Henry Neumann;

Evolution and the Labor Movement—Dr Everett Dean Martin. Equally important courses are being arranged for in the Spring.

Well, where are our "ignorant foreigners?" Unless we wish to join the Society of Static Souls whose slogan is "Once a foreigner always a foreigner, once an ignoramus always so," we shall have to revise our concept of the great majority of the industrious inhabitants of the City of New York. Not that they are none of them foreigners or ignorant. But they are quite unwilling to remain so. If our share of humble human curiosity is large enough, let us hope that it will lead us into one of these interesting lectures. There we shall be obliged to dismantle ourselves of our Pharisaic complacency as we listen to the questions of the students, mature, thoughtful men and women. Unless we are dead to all shame we shall quickly see the contrast between the "Workers University" and "Classes in Americanization of the Foreigner."

Since the origin of this work of self-education was a local of the International, the committee of the International thru its present organizer, Mr Liberty, is endeavoring to stimulate the growth of the work not indirectly thru the central office, but directly thru committees in locals of the Union.

There are many reasons for this devolution of the work. We spoke in the beginning of this article of the need of the worker to fit his educational opportunities to the conditions of his life and work. In other words since he cannot go to educational centers, education must come to him in his home.

The worker's home is apt to be rather the meeting hall of his local than the not very luxurious tenement in which he and his family are obliged to eat and sleep. The physical environment itself is far pleasanter. And the mental and social environment of the union is generally freer and superior to the limitations forced upon family life and intercourse by the cramped life in the tenement. Hence the Union hall becomes the center of the workers' social and mental life.

What could be more natural and pleasant than to spend the time, usually wasted in waiting for the meeting to begin, in listening to a lecture illustrated by lantern slides or moving-pictures? Why cannot the local hall become a more accessible Unity Center for social dances, concerts, lectures or dramatizations? The Educational Organizer answers by urging the locals to form their own educational committees to keep in touch with the central directing office to arrange for programs and classes. The locals have begun to respond to this idea and will probably become in the future the centers around which the whole educational work will develop. There is no limit to the possibilities. The International has already begun the work of helping locals to establish their own reading rooms and libraries of books of special interest to Unionists. This is in itself a great venture. It looks like a realization of the vision of self-mastery, of the dignity of labor, of intelligent self-control and control of conditions of life and labor.

Every movement, in the process of becoming self-conscious, must train its own leaders and inspirers. The Workers University has not overlooked this need. This winter a new venture was begun, the training of leadership. Classes for the Business Agents, the

workers' representatives in shop matters, have been opened in one of the Public Library reading rooms. English for speakers, economics, and other subjects needed by the Business Agent for his development as a conscious, dignified, and responsible leader. Any student of labor movements, or of the Labor Movement, looking into one of these earnest classes can take great hope for the future of industrial democracy.

Americanization is an important and interesting thing. But the worker of New York City and Philadelphia (and soon of every important city in the country, for the movement is growing) has something equally vital and important on hand. The American worker is interested in becoming a conscious master of his own destiny as it is bound up with the destiny of all his fellows. He can afford to smile at the frantic gestures of the Americanizer, or the wail of the philanthropist. For he is busy hewing out his way toward the New Freedom of the New Day.

The Schools for Propaganda

While the Peace Conference is weighing the question whether or not the nations shall abolish the system of universal military service, the pupils in the New York high schools, by order of the Department of Education, must be taught, "in the most inspiring and efficient manner" that volunteer service is irregular and unfair, that the national guard or state militia is insufficient in numbers and extent of training, that a regular army is inadequate and that therefore universal military service is the ultimate desideratum. The high school student must be taught, efficiently and inspiringly, that universal service is a just duty, that it is not militarism, that it is democratic, that it is a benefit to the individual in health, in physical development, in the formation of good habits. See *The World War*, a Syllabus. No doubt the Department of Education and many of the teachers in the system believe in universal training, as many of the rest of us do. It is none the less a moot political question, and we should like to know, on what theory of public policy do our authorities proceed when they undertake to jam their partisan views down the throats of our high school students? If they happened to be protectionists or single taxers would they attempt to use the schools likewise for the propagation of partisan views?—*The New Republic* of February 8, 1919.

Labor and Progress

II

MARGARET SNODGRASS HARDING

Chicago, Ill.

AMERICAN LABOR PARTY

THE Independent Labor Party of Cook County, Illinois, organized December 29, 1918, has put forth a municipal platform; it has nominated John Fitzpatrick, president of the Chicago Federation of Labor, for mayor of Chicago, and has launched a weekly party organ, *The New Majority*.

The platform deals with local issues, making concrete application of principles laid down in "Labor's Fourteen Points," published in the January number of *THE AMERICAN TEACHER*. It declares for municipal ownership of all public utilities, "without allowance for any payment for franchise rights and intangible values," and for the establishment of wholesale and retail municipal markets and cold storage warehouses. It advocates home rule and unification of local government, popular control to be exercised thru the initiative, referendum and recall; better labor conditions in the city government; improved housing, health, and sanitary regulations; electrification of steam railways; development of recreation and transportation facilities. It demands democracy in the schools, involving a system "that will equip every child for some useful vocation, without neglecting the cultural studies that are essential for the understanding and enjoyment of life" and that will guarantee "the rights of free speech, freedom of association, and secure tenure of office to all persons connected with the school system."

The convention held January 11-12, 1919, by the central labor bodies of New York and Brooklyn and the Women's Trade Union League of New York, resulted in the formation of the American Labor Party of Greater New York. The platform adopted conformed in the main with the "fourteen points" of the original Chicago platform. Additional points include: self-determination for Ireland, non-intervention in Russia or elsewhere, a refer-

endum on war, opposition to any form of compulsory military training, opposition to prohibition, limitation of the power of the Supreme Court to declare acts of Congress unconstitutional.

The New York and Chicago parties have as yet no official connection, tho both are looking toward the formation of a national party. Similar movements are reported to be under way in twenty-five other cities. A referendum vote on an Illinois Labor Party is now being taken.

BRITISH PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION

The British parliamentary election of December, 1918, resulted in an even more sweeping victory for the Lloyd George Coalition government than had been forecast. In a House of Commons of 707 members Lloyd George has secured 485 supporters, a majority of 263 over all other sections combined. Asquithian Liberals are reduced to 26. Irish Nationalists have been practically wiped out of existence by the Sinn Feiners, while the Unionists retain one-fifth of the Irish representation. The Labor Party, tho polling a quarter of all the votes, has increased its membership from 35 to only 59. These are for the most part experienced officials of the great trade unions, such as J H Thomas, secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen, with an occasional journalist and ex-teacher. A serious loss was the defeat of Arthur Henderson, former member of the Lloyd George War Cabinet and secretary of the Labor Party.

The conclusion drawn by most commentators is the almost universal repudiation of candidates suspected of pacifism, defeatism, or extreme radicalism of the Russian Bolshevik type. An interpretation by Sidney Webb of the significance of the election from the point of view of the Labor Party is to be found in the *New Republic* of January 25, 1919.

The reorganized Coalition ministry contains few new figures. Its critics maintain that there has been a mere "shuffling" of positions. George W Barnes, Laborite, becomes a minister without portfolio and G H Roberts, former minister of labor, is the new food controller.

The Labor Party's representation in parliament, now the largest body outside the Coalition, becomes for the first time in history the official Opposition to the Government. Its leaders will take their seats on the front Opposition bench as the alternative combination to the ministry of the day. William Adamson, a miner representing West Fife, is the new Opposition leader. His deputy is John Robert Clynes, who was food controller in the preceding Coalition government but who resigned in compliance with party mandates.

On January 30 the parliamentary Labor Party announced that at the first opportunity after parliament meets in February, it will raise the entire question of industrial unrest. It hopes to draw a declaration of policy from the government, and should that be unsatisfactory, it will present plans of its own. (Note: The figures quoted are those of Sidney Webb in the *New Republic*. They differ considerably from those given in the *Survey* of January 4.)

A F OF L RECONSTRUCTION PROGRAM

The Reconstruction Committee of the American Federation of Labor presented its program on January 15 to the Senate Committee on Education and Labor. The Senate Committee has been conducting extensive hearings on labor problems with a view to legislative action. The program, which had been approved by the executive council of the A F of L, recommends: That it be made a criminal offense for employers to hamper the organization of trade unions or their legitimate activities; prohibition of the labor of children under 16; provision for the reenactment of laws declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court; government ownership or operation of public and semi-public utilities; graduated tax on all useable agricul-

tural land above the acreage cultivated by the owner; further regulation of corporations by Federal license; state insurance; prohibition of immigration for two years after the declaration of peace; progressive taxes on incomes, inheritances, and land values; Federal "advisory supervision" over and subsidies to public education; a small standing army and volunteer state militia; no reduction of wages; equal pay for men and women doing the same work; an eight-hour day.

LABOR AT THE PEACE CONFERENCE

That international labor standards, approximating those of the Leeds conference of 1916 and the Berne conference of 1917, will be embodied in the final treaty of peace seems probable. Still more important and equally probable is a provision in the constitution of the League of Nations for a permanent commission of some sort to deal with international labor problems as they arise.

On January 25 the allied peace conference adopted the following resolution on labor:

"That a commission composed of two representatives apiece from the five great powers and five representatives to be elected by the other powers represented at the peace conference be appointed to inquire into the conditions of employment from the international aspect and to consider the international means necessary to secure common action on matters affecting conditions of employment and to recommend the form of a permanent agency to continue such inquiry and consideration, in cooperation with and under the direction of the league of nations."

Samuel Gompers and Edward N Hurley are the American members of the commission provided for in the resolution above; George N Barnes is the British Labor member, altho the Labor Party protests that he does not represent that organization.

NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH

An interesting experiment in the field of higher education is the "New School for Social Research," 465 West 23d Street, New York City, which opens with preliminary courses of lectures on February tenth. The list of lecturers includes such well-known

names as Charles A. Beard and James Harvey Robinson, Thorstein Veblen, Prof Wesley C Mitchell, Harold J Laski, and Ordway Tead.

The official announcement states that the new school "is organized to meet the needs of intelligent men and women interested in the grave social, political, economic, and educational problems of the day." Small groups of specially qualified persons will be organized for practical research, with a view to preparing for the fields of journalism, municipal administration, labor organization, and the teaching of social sciences. The school will be open with an enlarged staff and a full program in October, 1919.

Teachers' Housing in Hawaii

CONSIDERABLE dissatisfaction against teachers' housing conditions has been expressed during recent months by mainland teachers who have taken positions in Hawaii. The following statement, recently made in the *San Francisco Bulletin*, is said to be descriptive of the local situation:

Declaring that hundreds of American school teachers are induced by misrepresentation on the part of school authorities of the Hawaiian territorial government to give up good positions here and go to the Hawaiian islands, where educational systems are antiquated and housing conditions in outlying districts unbearable, Miss A. Joses is on her way to her home in Ione, following her arrival recently on the steamship *Sachem* of the Matson Navigation Company's line.

Miss Joses declared that she was persuaded to leave an excellent position in the Sacramento High School to go to Honolulu at the opening of the fall term, and believing that she would be stationed in Honolulu she accepted; but on being transferred to Hilo, found conditions so unbearable that she broke her contract, thereby forfeiting four months' salary and returned home.

"I found that the term 'furnished houses' for teachers meant houses furnished without furniture, and after trying to live in a barren barn of a place I finally gave it up," said Miss Joses. She declared that many other teachers would leave the islands if they were financially able.

Miss Joses says that many of the white teachers are forced to serve under native principals. *S. F. Bulletin*.

Education—An Inside View

The Tsar is gone: the Kaiser is gone: but the little tsars and kaisers of our educational system continue in their ways of tyranny. Their latest object of persecution is Benjamin Glassberg, as able and honest a teacher of history as we have anywhere in the public schools. Thru the process of delation that dishonors our teaching profession, the report reached the higher authorities that Mr Glassberg had said in class discussion that Bolshevism had brought about the cracking of the German power and that the Russian Bolsheviks had aided in the work, that the newspapers printed great untruths about Russia, and that certain officials returning from Russia were not permitted to tell the truth about the Bolsheviks. We do not know whether Mr Glassberg said these things or not. All we know is that they are the plain truth, and that no person so illinformed as not to know it ought to be permitted to teach history in our public schools. But the New York City Department of Education has its own official account of what has happened in Russia. That account must be transmitted by the teachers of history as if it were Gospel. Therefore in permitting the truth to show its unwelcome head in the discussion of Russia, Benjamin Glassberg was guilty of "conduct unbecoming a teacher" and suspended without pay to await an inquest designed to produce excuses for expelling him from the service. He is a Socialist, a Jew and a man of ability. What more is required for conviction?—*The New Republic of February 1, 1919.*

On Universal Military Training

I am opposed to compulsory military training because it is a reactionary military measure with the sole objective of committing us to the outworn and discredited Prussian method of keeping the peace; because it menaces the permanent settlement of international relations on a friendly and mutually helpful basis; because it means (and will be understood all over the world to mean) the mobilization of our entire man-power for that "next war" so dear to the militarist's heart; because it means the creation of a powerful military class already too well entrenched in Washington and the metropolitan press; because it would waste the time of millions of youths who would otherwise be reaching earnest hands for a grasp on the ladder of civil and industrial life; because it would subject millions of youths to a pitiless and stupid military discipline, with the liability of severe penitentiary sentences for unimportant offences; because it is, in essence, the heart and core of militarism which Webster's Dictionary defines, you know, as "the spirit and temper which exalts the military virtues and ideals and minimizes the defects of military training and the cost of war and the preparation for it."—Charles T Hallinan, in *The Arbitrator* for February, 1919.

A Symposium on Teachers' Unions

Arranged for the purpose of bringing out positive convictions on the relations of teachers to the union movement.

The subjoined letter was sent to selected persons in educational and social leadership. Two of the responses are printed herewith, one for and one against the idea that teachers should join labor unions. We invite criticism of the points of view expressed in this symposium.

The Teachers Union of the City of New York is conducting a campaign for a large membership. Incidentally, we are bringing before the teachers the importance of belonging to an organization that is affiliated with labor unions, for economic reasons as well as for professional reasons.

We find considerable opposition to joining with labor unions on the ground that "*teachers have nothing in common with labor*," and also for reasons of professional pride. Furthermore, many teachers frankly say they are afraid to join our Teachers Union because they feel that their principals would not approve, and that a promotion for which they hope would be prevented by some other official who is also believed to be opposed to the Teachers Union. In not a few cases the teachers are correct in saying that principals are opposed to the Union, for some principals have refused to permit meetings of our organizations in their schools and have even refused to the teachers the privilege of distributing our literature.

As you doubtless know, the Teachers Union is a professional organization that is conscientiously

striving to improve the conditions under which teaching is done. The organization is doing this under the stimulus of an ideal, realizing as well that in some important ways it is liable to run counter to prevailing practices in educational administration in such a way that antagonism may actually be created. This, of course, would be unfortunate, because we are desirous of avoiding useless friction in the attainment of a high purpose.

We find that teachers are often influenced by what those higher in the educational ranks say of a given proposition, and also by the opinions of "outsiders." Therefore, the Union will appreciate a short statement by you concerning the proposition of teachers joining a Union by which they will be affiliated with labor. What seem to you to be the advantages of this new relation between teachers and labor unions? We shall ask the privilege of publishing your entire statement in *THE AMERICAN TEACHER*, and of taking extracts from it to publish in a pamphlet with the statements of others. This letter is going to about fifty leaders in the theory and practice of education in New York City and elsewhere.

For

MRS FLORENCE KELLEY

General Secretary, National Consumers League

I AM grateful to you for the opportunity you offer me to express my conviction that the teachers in the public schools thruout this nation should have unions of their own, and should affiliate with the labor unions.

The great mass of children in the public schools are obviously sons and daughters of men and women who work. The first requisite for intelligent teaching is comprehension of the minds of the children, and this is clearly impossible without understanding their home environment. Teachers who consider beneath them the organizations that parents find necessary for themselves are, obviously, out of sympathy with that home environment.

The standard of living of children in industrial centers depends in great measure on the size, organization and intelligence of the trade unions now in existence; and in the near future the people of this Republic will be compelled to recognize the fact that the absence of similar organizations in the rural districts is a prime cause of the stagnation and wretchedness that characterise the schools in so large a part of the agricultural area.

Hitherto the teaching profession—the most important and responsible of all the professions—in this country has consisted chiefly of disfranchised, insufficiently educated, unorganized young women, whose remuneration has been beggarly. Even yet, less than a third of the states have conferred full voting power on the mothers and women teachers. This accounts, I believe, for the fact that our schools have been conducted so largely

by business men who have, doubtless unconsciously, used them to fit the masses of children to become cheap labor, allowing them to leave school in many states at the earliest ages and from the lowest school grades at which they can be turned to account in industry.

In the interest of the children, it is urgently necessary that the teachers should strengthen their own position. Hitherto their efforts in this direction appear to have profited largely groups of teacher-politicians who have notoriously used the teachers' associations for their own purposes—*e. g.*, obtaining desirable and well-paid positions in the teaching body.

In no other way, I believe, can the teachers of this Republic so well serve the children, at this time, as by affiliation with organized labor in the cities and with the farmers' unions in the country, and by the intelligent use of the ballot.

Against

PROFESSOR DAVID SNEDDEN
Teachers College, New York

THIS is in reply to your circular letter of December 28 asking my opinion as to certain possible relations between public school teachers and labor unions.

I think it very important that teachers should form organizations for the purposing of promoting the desirable and worthy aims of education, including the conditions under which teaching is done. I think it especially desirable that teachers in similar or closely related fields should so organize—*e. g.*, Kindergarten Teachers, High School Teachers of Latin, Superintendents, etc.—because the specific ends and means of improvement within the areas indicated can be most easily understood and worked for by the rank and file in each group. For purposes of considering and promoting larger policies these homogeneous organizations would naturally federate and be represented by delegates.

For the purpose of promoting still larger social policies it seems to me desirable that teachers organizations, large or small, should form connections with non-educational organizations also engaged in promoting social well being in particular areas—*e. g.*, medical societies, unions of manual laborers, chambers of commerce, granges, ministers' unions, civic organizations, etc.

The desirable objective of these larger affiliations would be chiefly in the promotion of better mutual understanding and cooperation on larger and more clearly defined matters of public policy. As society grows more complex, the group—often the vocational group—will often tend to become the best unit for the promotion of social ends rather than the individual. And the group will increasingly have to learn to act through representatives or delegates.

I have very strong objections to public school teachers selecting some one or a few non-teaching organizations for purposes of special affiliation. Public school teachers are the teachers, potentially certainly, of the children of *all* the people. For the good of their work they should so conduct themselves that they can justly claim the moral and overt support of all worthy groups. Especially must public school teachers in an organized capacity avoid entangling alliances with organizations believed, justly or unjustly, to be promoting partisan or sectarian ends. The freedom of a group is here much less than that of an individual member of a group.

It is sometimes asserted in defence of close affiliation of teachers organizations with labor unions that the majority of their pupils come from "labor union homes." You do not need to be told, of course, that such is rarely the fact. I can find no satisfactory recent statistics, but those of 1914 now accessible seem to me to indicate that then not more than four percent of the population, or twelve percent of working adults, or fifteen percent of manual laboring, wage earning adults, were members of labor unions. I very much doubt if more than two or three percent of the elementary school teachers of New

York State are teaching children a majority of the fathers of whom are members of labor unions.

Another strong objection, as I see it, to specially close affiliation of teachers organizations with labor organizations is that teachers, as public servants and especially as members of a service striving to maintain something of professional morale, one of the very important, even if less tangible, factors in which is a willingness to give service on something other than a strict *quid pro quo* basis, cannot, without serious damage to their prestige and permanent usefulness, adopt or ally themselves with those using militant methods. Certainly some of us have been led to believe that one of the objects of the affiliation you refer to has been the possible combination of resources for militant action to procure the ends sought by either.

The Legal Status of Teachers

JENNIE A WILCOX
Chicago, Ill.

SOMETHING over a year ago, there appeared in an obscure corner of one of our most important newspapers, the decision of a federal court judge, which seems to establish the legal status of teachers in all schools not of university rank. The case in question is as follows: A Japanese school teacher, a graduate of the Kumamoto Normal School of Japan, came to this country to teach Japanese children "of differing ages and of no regular grade, somewhat in the nature of a private school," his salary to be paid by the Japanese Association of Guadalupe, Cal. He was refused admittance and ordered deported by the department of immigration, and the case was immediately taken to the federal court of the district in which Seattle is located, and of which Jeremiah Neterer is the presiding judge.

After preliminaries declaring that the petitioner had not been denied any rights or privileges in his appeal to the courts, the

judge goes on to say in his decision: The further suggestion of the petitioner that labor of like kind unemployed cannot be found in the U. S. cannot be considered, since no application was made to the Secretary of Labor before such importation, or at all, to examine into such fact as provided by the Immigration Act. Nor does the petitioner belong to any recognized learned profession. The term "learned profession," I think, under this act, applies to learned professions other than teaching, I use the term "other than teaching" because teaching, as a profession, sometimes is confounded with the term "learned profession." I think there is a distinction made by the express provisions of the act, because the term "professors for colleges and seminaries" must be considered in *one* class, and "recognized learned professions" in *another*, else the terms would not have been so used.

He then defines the terms "colleges and seminaries," quoting from the New Standard Dictionary, Webster, and Bouvier's Law Dictionary and denies that the proposed Japanese school would fall within these definitions. He then proceeds to quote the definitions of the terms "professor" and "teacher" and finally concludes that "in no sense could his status be comprehended within the term 'professor,' that being a distinctive term purposely employed by congress used to distinguish higher institutions of learning."

"This order for deportation," concludes the judge, "was affirmed by the Secretary of Labor, and he is remanded to the custody of the commissioner of immigration."

This decision by a federal court, concurred in by the Secretary of Labor, evidently places the teacher in the ranks of *common* laborers, or, if we ignore the apparent contradiction, in a profession which cannot be classed with the "learned professions."

In view of this decision, can teachers continue to ignore the fact that their place is in the ranks of organized labor? Secretary Wilson, in reply to a letter of protest against the definition of a teacher as outlined by

(Concluded on page 46)

"The Way to Power"

MARY R PARKMAN

James Ormond Wilson, Normal School, Washington, D C

IT was at a meeting held to further the cause of school gardens. The Secretary of the Interior was saying a word to the regional directors. "You will have to contend with two kinds of conservatism," he said, "that of the superintendents, who are frequently hard to interest in anything which they do not feel that they are initiating. Well, just so that the children get the gardens, let the superintendent think it is his movement. Quite another sort of an obstructionist is the over-worked, underpaid teacher—I have a great sympathy for her, but I may remark here by way of parenthesis that she is herself to blame for the low salary scale of which she is a victim . . ."

Some teachers among those present looked at each other quizzically. "Still another way of looking at our unhappy plight!" they seemed to be saying.

"Of course the teacher is used to being held responsible for anything and everything," some one was overheard to remark at the close of the address, "but isn't it adding insult to injury to say that she is starving herself?"

"If so, she can't be said to have made anything out of her hunger strike," another added. "Pathetically futile there as elsewhere!"

"Now, what could the Honorable Secretary have meant?" pondered a certain progressive pedagog; and since she was one to whom to think meant to act, she forthwith sat down and wrote to the speaker of the afternon, not in a spirit of criticism or belligerency, but quite simply as a progressive pedagog who—like Rosa Dartle—"wanted to know."

In the course of a day or two she had her answer.

"My thought regarding teachers' salaries," the Secretary wrote, "is that they are ex-

tremely low because the standard for teachers is not sufficiently high. The teachers themselves ought to see that only those people who are fitted for teaching are permitted to teach and the standard should not be one of scholarship alone. This should be but fifty percent of the qualification.

"The teacher is an inspirer. There should be a determined effort made by the teachers of the country, I believe, to elevate their professional standing and make it impossible to get teachers for a non-living wage . . ."

Cordially yours,

(Signed) FRANKLIN D LANE.

"There should be a determined effort made by teachers of the country . . ." Do we not have there in a nut-shell the reason for the failure in the past and a guide-post on the way to power in the future? Only thru organization can there be any gain for the individual or the group. We all *know* "what 'twere good to be done," but we lack the *power* to profit by our knowledge—to put into practise our teaching. And power can come only thru solidarity—when the individual is not a voice crying in the wilderness, but one standing shoulder to shoulder with his fellows, strong and confident with the might of the many who are working together as conscious, intelligent parts of a great whole.

Of all classes of workers, the teachers have been the last to realize by experience the strength of union. Only now are they beginning to glimpse the benefits that may come to the individuals of the profession from co-operation with their fellows.

It is strange the way in which we have had to learn anew in field after field and adapt to each particular corner of experience the lesson of the bundle of sticks, so easily broken when taken separately but together able to withstand every effort to bend or

crush them. Each separate nation where the people have won their place in the body politic and the assurance of their right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, have had to learn this lesson. And, as in all the crafts, trades and professions, where advancement has come to each worker thru availing himself of the spirit and strength of the mass, so in efforts for the public weal—social service work of every sort—the need and the benefit of cooperation has been proved.

An instance in point is that of the founding of the American Red Cross. Clara Barton was obliged to work long and earnestly against indifference, opposition and deeply rooted prejudice in bringing the public and the government officials to an appreciation of the gain that would come through organization. In France during the war of 1870, she had an opportunity of seeing the work of the International Red Cross and comparing it with the unorganized efforts of surgeons and nurses during the Civil War.

"As I went about," she said, "I saw the work of these Red Cross societies in the field accomplishing in four months under their systematic organization what we failed to accomplish in four years without it—no mistakes, no needless suffering, no waste, no confusion, but order, plenty, cleanliness, and comfort wherever that little flag made its way—a whole continent marshalled under the banner of the Red Cross. As I saw all this and joined and worked in it, you will not wonder that I said to myself, 'if I live to return to my country I will try to make my people understand the Red Cross!'"

The teachers are only beginning to feel the results of organization. Can they not one and all realize that the way to power lies in their determined, united effort for better conditions, conditions that make for proficiency, sufficiency, and efficiency—proficiency in the teacher's all-around preparation and equipment; sufficiency in compensation and popular esteem, and efficiency in the task of preparing the children of today for the world's work of tomorrow.

To the Editor, THE AMERICAN TEACHER:

THE AMERICAN TEACHER grows better with every issue. Give us all the news you can about the spread of the organization "bug". Stillman seems to be doing great things! We are watching New York—All America is watching you.

Always your friend,

IDA L M FUPSMAN.

CHICAGO, Ill, February 6, 1919.

To the Editor, THE AMERICAN TEACHER:

You have asked me to express my opinion as to what trade union membership can do for teachers and what teacher members can do for the trade union movement. The great need of the present is a tolerant, reasonable, and constructive attitude toward the problems of reorganization with which the world is faced. A dangerous tendency exists to arouse class against class, to appeal to passion and prejudice, and to advance personal, class, and party interests at the expense of general welfare.

Organized teachers are in a strategic position. By virtue of their education they can become interpreters of the ideals and philosophy of the trade union movement to the wide general public with which they come in contact. And in turn they should throw the weight of their influence in the labor movement against the stimulation of class consciousness and class hatred and suspicion. They can thus help to develop among all groups of our society a spirit of mutual understanding and accommodation, of national unity and cooperation for the common good.

Fortunately we in the United States are not as yet a nation of stratified classes; we have no great proletariat, no mass of illiterate peasantry. Our political system, antiquated and cumbersome though it is in many ways, still makes possible orderly and progressive reform amounting to revolution, and without the destructiveness of revolution by violence. Our conception of democracy is still government by majority, with protection of the rights of minorities; not the dictatorship of any class, however numerous or powerful.

Teachers, with their knowledge of the past and as servants of the future, have the solemn duty of combating with all their strength, forces making for destruction and chaos. A spirit of vindictiveness and of selfish aggrandizement of party and class is abroad. Should it prevail, it is by no means impossible that, in the words of H G Wells, "the world may welter in confusion for many generations, thru such ruinous and impoverished centuries as close the Roman imperial story, before it develops the vitality for an effective reorganization."

MARGARET SNODGRASS HARDING,

CHICAGO, Ill, January 30, 1919.

(Concluded from page 43)

Judge Neterer, expressed his surprise, evidently believing that the act of congress, upon which the decision was based, would bear no other interpretation than that teachers are to be classed as "laborers."

Is any further "jolt" needed to arouse teachers to throw off their mantle of self-complacency woven of the delusion that they are members of "a learned profession"?

This is the Official Organ of the

American Federation of Teachers

ORGANIZED APRIL 15, 1916

Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor

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Effective Organization

The signing of the armistice on November 11 has focused attention on the difficult reconstruction period at hand. Almost every group in society is hoping for a larger effectiveness in the reorganized world. "Cooperation," "collective bargaining" are master words now. The trade unions of England have formulated the only clear after-the-war policy for that country. Here collective bargaining, fostered by the government, has had an enormous development. Organization is focusing and making effective the collective experience and will of large groups.

Yet teachers have no effective organization. Educational reports, it is true, print long lists of associations, but they consist for the most part of professional groups interested in single subjects. There is no closely organized body that voices the needs and experience of teachers and speaks with authority in education, protecting the interests of its members, and guiding in the formation of public opinion.

Under the present arrangement almost any expression by experienced teachers on matters of school policy is regarded as an impertinence by the school board:

"Theirs not to reason why,
Theirs but to do and die."

In the financial pinch caused by the war none have been at a greater disadvantage than the teachers. Pretty much everything has been left to individual bargaining, and every kind of advantage is taken of the individual. The results are about what one would expect. For instance, in a Maine village where the gate-tender of the railroad is making \$32.00 per week, college graduates teaching in the high school are receiving as a maximum \$14.44, and the village regards its public-school system with pride and complacency.

From time to time teachers are invited to form a union, to become part of the labor organization of the country. They usually catch their breath and reply that it would be *unprofessional*. It is beginning to look, however, as if *professional* and *ineffective* might turn out to be synonyms. At any rate, it is time to do something besides trying to stop discussion with a word. What are the great ends we are seeking in our profession? Surely in a new world whose watchword is cooperation we cannot hope to secure them by the antiquated method of individual effort. What then, shall we do? Can we really make our old professional organizations into an effective new one with an authority commensurate with the importance of education among world problems; or must we follow in the line of the great cooperative movement of the day—the trade unions? *At least, it is high time that we work the matter out.*

LOUISE S EARLE.

(Clubs looking for education on the point discussed by Miss Earle will find Miss Mabel Gillespie, of the Minimum Wage Commission, a discreet and helpful speaker if they are so fortunate as to secure her services. EDITOR.—From the *Common Ground* (Mass.) for January, 1919.

But why discreet?

Editor, THE AMERICAN TEACHER.

Department of Education Bill Introduced in the House

CONGRESSMAN TOWNER SPONSORS MEASURE GIVING FEDERAL AID—HAS SUPPORT OF AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, FEDERATION OF TEACHERS, AND NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

Congressman Horace M. Towner, of Iowa, introduced into the House on January 28 a bill creating a Federal Department of Education, with a secretary in the President's Cabinet, and appropriating a hundred million dollars to encourage education in the several States. The measure has the backing of the American Federation of Labor, the American Federation of Teachers, and the National Education Association, as well as of a number of other organizations.

The bill is similar in its provisions to the Smith bill (S 4987) introduced in the Senate October 10 by Senator Hoke Smith, of Georgia, but contains a number of modifications to meet objections that have been raised. It is understood that Senator Smith is favorable to the changes that have been suggested in the bill and will incorporate them in his bill when reported, which, it is expected, will be within the next few days.

Unified support was assured for the Smith-Towner measure when the American Federation of Labor, already on record as favoring a Department of Education and Federal aid for education, accepted the suggestion of officials of the American Federation of Teachers that with certain modifications it would be possible for the union organizations to indorse and work for the bill drafted by the National Education Association Commission and already introduced by Senator Smith. A conference between Hugh S. Magill, recently appointed legislative representative of the National Education Association, and Henry Sterling, C. B. Stillman, and L. V. Lampson, of the Federation of Labor and the Teachers' Federation, resulted in an agreement to combine forces in advocacy of a joint measure.

Judge Towner's bill differs from the first draft of the Smith bill chiefly in further precautions to safeguard local control in education, and in making certain that the \$50,000,000 appropriated for general

improvement of schools shall be used in part for the payment of teachers' salaries.

The bill provides that the Federal appropriation shall be used—

- (a) For the elimination of illiteracy.
- (b) For the Americanization of immigrants.
- (c) For physical and health education.
- (d) For preparation of teachers.
- (e) For equalization of educational opportunities thruout the various States.

COMMENTS ON THE TOWNER BILL

Representatives of the various organizations interested in the bill stated that they intend to urge prompt action. Henry Sterling, legislative representative of the American Federation of Labor, said:

"I consider the unifying and coordinating of the various educational agencies of the Federal Government within one department, and full cooperation with State and local agencies, essential and vital to the promotion of public education. The American Federation of Labor has discussed the matter at a number of its recent conventions and is practically unanimous and thoroly in earnest in its support."

The Smith-Towner bill will have the hearty support of the American Federation of Teachers, according to L. V. Lampson, national organizer for the federation. He said:

"The Smith bill as amended by Representative Towner and introduced by him in the House to-day will have the strong support of the American Federation of Teachers. The new measure provides for Federal aid in the payment of teachers' salaries and fully safeguards the control of the States over their schools. The amendments were made in response to public sentiment thruout the country and meet with the hearty approval of the American Federation of Teachers, and the National Education Association. The people will demand the passage of this bill."

Hugh S. Magill made the following statement for the National Education Association:

"The bill introduced by Congressman Towner providing for a Department of Education and making an appropriation of \$100,000,000 to encourage the States in the performance of certain definite educational work has the hearty indorsement of the National Education Association. This bill recognizes the vital importance from the national standpoint and outlines a broad, comprehensive program for obtaining definite and practical results. The English Parliament has passed the Fisher bill, one of the most important educational measures ever enacted into law. If America is to meet the educational demands of this critical period a bill of this character should be enacted by Congress."

—*School Life*, for February 1, 1919.

LIFTERS

and LEANERS

There are but two classes of teachers—lifters and leaners. Lifters are judged by what they do or try to do, leaners by what they don't. Leaners impede every good cause, and hence do not deserve the name teachers. Worse, indeed, they are Barnacles on the back of Progress. A community which tolerates them for its teachers, not only insults the profession, but also inflicts its children with a perpetual blight.

We have a League. Its purpose is to remove blight. "How do you propose to accomplish it?", you may ask. Thus: Our aim is 100 per cent membership—plus quality.

Like an army in the field, we have had successes and repulses. The achievements may properly be accredited to our efficient leaders, while the failures were due largely to the do-nothings. We have them.

On the bright side of our League's endeavors we note with pride: advances in salaries, better fellowship, and a steady stream of budding and blossoming orators of the Clay and Patrick Henry type. Besides, there are signs of intellectual growth as teachers. No doubt this is due to the assimilation of ideas; because brain power conscientiously united always tends toward the goal sought.

If we may judge from the Press, teaching school is coming into its own. Being one of the oldest arts, and I believe one of the most honorable and essential, we would naturally expect it to forge ahead second to none. While this is not the case in the main, yet public sentiment is creating a force which will ultimately result in the American public school teacher being compensated in a fashion commensurate with the dignity of the profession.

May God abundantly bless the lifters; and may the same Power abundantly prod in the ribs the leaners—

"Who let others bear
Their portion of labor,
And worry and care."

WILLIAM HOY,

The Teachers League of Coal Township
(Local No. 22, A F of T),
Shamokin, Pa.